## Message Text

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**ACTION EUR-12** 

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02

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SAJ-01 ACDA-05 IO-10 /072 W

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FM USMISSION USBERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 604

AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

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AMCONSUL STUTTGART

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 USBERLIN 450

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PINT, WB, GW

SUBJECT: ANALYSIS OF BERLIN ELECTION RESULTS

REF: (A) USBERLIN 402; (B) USBERLIN 315

1. SUMMARY: WHILE CDU PROBABLY WOULD NOT HAVE BECOME STRONGEST PARTY HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR LORENZ ABDUCTION, BERLIN ELECTION OUTCOME NONETHELESS REPRESENTS CONTINUATION OF TREND AWAY FROM SPD ESTABLISHED IN 1974 LAND ELECTIONS. ANALYSIS OF RETURNS SUGGESTS THAT THOSE TRADITIONAL SPD SUPPORTERS WHO WERE DISSATISFIED WITH PARTY'S PERFORMANCE STAYED AWAY FROM POLLS RATHER THAN VOTE FOR OTHER PARTIES, ALTHOUGH THOSE DEFECTORS WHO DID VOTE WERE AS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INCLINED TO SUPPORT BFD AS CDU. AMONG ISSUES, LAW-AND-

ORDER THEME HAD GREATEST IMPACT, ALTHOUGH ECONOMIC DIS-SATISFACTION, GENERAL DESIRE FOR CHANGE, AND CONERN ABOUT FOREIGN WORKERS ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO CDU SUCCESS AND SPD LOSSES. END SUMMARY.

- 2. PARTICIPATION IN 1975 BERLIN ELECTIONS (87-9 PERCENT) WAS LESS THAN IN 1971 (88.9 PERCENT) BUT GREATER THAN IN 1967 (86.2 PERCENT) BUT FOR LAST-MINUTE INTEREST GENERATED BY LORENZ ABDUCTION, AND FOR SPECIFIC APPEALS TO CITIZENRY TO EXERCISE FRANCHISE AS RESOUNDING RESPONSE TO TERRORISTS, VOTER TURNOUT MIGHT WELL HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER. AS NOTED REFTEL B, MOOD OF ELECTORATE THROUGHOUT MUCH OF CAMPAIGN PERIOD WAS ONE OF APATHY, WHICH CONTENDING PARTIES WERE HARD PUT TO DISPEL.
- 3. PRECISE IMPACT OF LORENZ ABDUCTION ON ELECTION OUTCOME IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS. TO ATTRIBUTE CDU GAINS AND SPD LOSSES SOLELY TO THIS EVENT--WHICH SPD CHAIRMAN BRANDT SOUGHT TO DO FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESULTS--WOULD BE MISTAKE, INASMUCH AS TURN TOWARDS CDU HAD LONG BEEN PREDICTED AS CONTINUATION OF TREND SEEN IN HAMBURG, LOWER SAXONY, HESSE, AND BAVARIA ELECTIONS, BISICK FACTORS BEHIND CDU SUCCESS WERE, AS ELSEWHERE, CONCERN OVER OSTENSIBLE DECLINE IN LAW AND ORDER, DISSATISFACTION WITH ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS, AND WIDESPREAD FEELING THAT SPD NO LONGER IN TOUCH WITH POPULAR MOOD AND ASPIRATIONS, MOST OBSERVERS AGREE THAT LORENZ ABDUCTION INCREASED CDU VOTE BY NOT MORE THAN 2-3 PERCENT, A SIGNIFICANT ADDITION, NONETHELESS, IN THAT IT ENABLED CDU TO BECOME FOR FIRST TIME STRONGEST PARTY IN BERLIN. EFFECT OF ABDUC-TION WAS PROBABLY NOT TO DRAW ACTUAL VOTES AWAY FRO SPD. BUT RATHER, BY DRAMATICALLY UNDERSCORING CDU THEME OF INADEOUATE INTERNAL SECURITY. TO MOBILIZE CONSERVATIVE-LEANING APATHETIC AND UNDECIDED VOTERS TO GO TO POLLS. INDICATIONS ARE THAT ABDUCTION PROBABLY HURT BFD MORE THAN SPD OR FDP, AS WOULD-BE CDU DEFECTORS TENDED TO REMAIN LOYAL TO LORENZ AND HIS PARTY. QUITE ASIDE FROM ELECTION RETURNS, BERLIN CDU IS BOUND TO GAIN STRENGTH AS RESULT OF FACT THAT ITS ONCE RELATIVELY UNKNOWN LEADER, LORENZ, HAS NOW BECOME NATIONAL FIGURE. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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4. WHILE IT WAS ANTICIPATED THAT SPD WOULD FALL BELOW 50 PERCENT MARK, LOSS ON ORDER OF 7.7 PERCENT WAS NOT GENERALLY FORESEEN. SPD DID MANANGE TO WIN 44 DIRECT ELECTION CONTESTS AS OPPOSED TO 36 FOR CDU, BUT THIS STILL REPRESENTED SPD LOSS (AND CDU GAIN) OF 16 COMPARED WITH 1971. SPD VOTE DECLINED BY MORE THAN 5 PERCENT IN TEN OF BERLIN'S TWELVE DISTRICTSS, WITH PARTICULARLY SHARP

LOSS BEING REGISTERED IN SPD TRADITIONAL WORKER STRONG-HOLDS OF WEDDING (10.7 PERCENT), KREUZBERG (10.7 PERCENT) AND NEUKOELLN (9.7 PERCENT). WHILE CDU RECORDED CORRESPONDING GAINS OF 8 PERCENT, 5.8 PERCENT, AND 6.8 PERCENT, INDICATIONS ARE THAT SPD LOSSES IN THESE WORKER DISTRICTS AND ELSEWHERE WERE PERHAPS AS MUCH RESULT OF VOTER ABSTENTION AS DEFECTIONS TO OTHER PARTIES. MONY TRADITIONAL SPD SUPPORTERS WHO COULD NOT BRING THEMSELVES TO VOTE FOR CDU OR OTHER ALTERNATIVES CHOSE TO VOICE THEIR PROTEST AGAINST GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT, URBAN VIOLENCE, RISING PRICES, AND SEEMING SPD DISREGARD OF POPULAR CONCERNS BY STAYING AWAY FROM POLLS. MOST OBSERVERS AGREE THAT, BUT FOR CHARISMA, DEMONSTRATED LEADERSHIP ABILITY, AND GENERAL OPULARITY OF GOVERNING MAYOR SCHUETZ, SPD LOSSES WOULD HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY GREATER. SPD LEADERS HAVE GENERALLY AVOIDED ATTRIBUTING DEBACLE TO LORENZ ABDUCTION, AND HAVE INSTEAD EMPHASIZED NEED TO UNDERTAKE RENEVEWED ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS AMONG TRADITIONAL BUT DISAFFECTED SPD SUPPORTERS.

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 NIC-01

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5. FDP WAS PARTICULARLY SATISFIED WITH ELECTION RESULTS. FDP CHAIRMAN LUEDER CLAIMED, WITH SOME JUSTIFICATION, THAT HIS WAS ONLY PARTY TO FULFILL ELECTION OBJECTIVES. WHILE FEW OBSERVERS ANTICIPATED THAT IT WOULD FAIL TO CLEAR 5 PERCENT HURDLE, FDP'S EVENTUAL 7.2 PERCENT SHOWING WAS BETTER THAN GENERALLY PREDICTED AND, IN CONJUNCTION WITH SPD'S SUBSTANTIAL LOSSES, AFFORDED PARTY POSITION OF STRENGTH FOR FORTHCOMING COALITION TALKS WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. READINESS OF LEFTIST-DOMINATED FDP TO FORM COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH SPD--FOR A CONSIDERABLE PRICE OF COURSE-MAY BE REINFORCED BY RELATIVE GAINS REGISTERED BY LEFT-WING OF SPD PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS (ALTHOUGH RIGHT-WING OF PARTY STILL PREDOMINATES).

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6 BFD VOTE OF 3.4 PERCENT CORRESPONDED APPROXIMATELY TO PREDICTIONS OF MOST OBSERVERS. ALTHOUGH, AS NOTED AVOE, PARTY PROBABLY SUFFERED AS CONSEQUENCE OF LORENZ ABDUCTION. (CDU PRESS SPOKESMAN TROMP NEVERTHELESS CALIMED THAT TWO-THIRDS OF BFD VOTE WAS "STOLEN" FROM CDU.) BFD MADE RELATIVELY STRONG SHOWING IN WORKER DISTRICTS (4.2 PERCENT OF VOTE IN KREUZBERG, 4.0 PERCENT IN NEUKOELLN, AND 3.9 PERCENT IN WEDDING), WHICH MAY WELL REFLECT NATIONALISTIC REACTION IN AREAS AFFECTED MOST BY PRESENCE OF LARGE NUMBERS OF FOREIGN WORKERS AT TIME OF WIDESPREAD JOB INSECURITY AND GENERAL ECONOMIC UNCERTAINTY. AS EXPECTED (PARA 3, REF B), COMMUNIST SPLINTER PARTIES FARED POORLY, ALTHOUGH COMBINED VOTE FOR SEW (1.9 PERCENT), KPD (0.7 PERCENT), AND KBW (0.1 PERCENT) SLIGHTLY EXCEEDED 2.3 PERCENT WON BY SEW IN 1971 WHEN IT WAS ONLY COMMUNIST PARTY TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS.GEORGE

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## Message Attributes

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